FATEH

INFORMATION OFFICE
VOL. III No. 1

PALESTINE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT
MARCH 23, 1971

ABOU AMMAR IN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW:

- **The Year 1971 Will Be that of Epics**
- **The Answer to the Peace Plan Lies In the Survival of the Revolution**
- **The Eighth National Assembly Has Endorsed the Democratic State Idea**
- **We Had to Prevent Genocide And the Creation of "Two Yemens"**

Abou Ammar

A REVOLUTION OF THE PEOPLE CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED

QUESTION: What is your evaluation of the Eighth National Assembly held in Cairo in early March?

ABOU AMMAR: The 8th National Assembly was not expected to be historic -- particularly that a number of "time-bombs" and "mines" had been planted for us there. It was part of the plot being waged against the Palestinian Revolution for these time bombs and mines to explode during the Assembly meeting.

What we succeeded in doing was to prevent this from happening.

We prevented the explosion of any crisis.

What actually took place in the Assembly was totally different from what was carried by the news agencies.

The 8th National Assembly was more positive than any of the previous assemblies for the following reasons:

1) It was the first assembly to ratify a formula for Palestinian (national) unity through ratification of a comprehensive Political Plank. The Political Plank was discussed for four hours in the Unity Commission and was subsequently approved by the National Assembly. The Assembly also approved the Organizational Skeleton -- with the exception of two points dealing with the manner in which the Executive Committee would be elected -- by the Political Bureau or the National Assembly at large.

2) A genuine, democratic atmosphere prevailed throughout the deliberations and allowed all points of view on the Palestinian scene to be expressed. This, in itself, is one of the most genuinely democratic expressions in the Arab homeland.

3) For the first time, the Palestinian National Assembly endorsed Fateh's slogan calling for the establishment of a democratic state in Palestine. Although previous assemblies had discussed this objective, they had not endorsed it. This is an unprecedented, great achievement. It is a cultural event.

4) Another positive aspect of the National Assembly is that it convened the enlarged Popular Congress which was attended, among others, by about 110 Jordanian nationalist leaders. The significance of this is important. It reflects the ability of the Palestinian Revolution to attract such leadership while being subjected to an extermination war by the Jordanian regime. The Popular Congress, in other words, was a slap-in-the-face to those who claim that the Revolution is losing ground in Jordan.

QUESTION: What is the Palestinian Revolution's answer to the political solution or so-called "plan for peace in the Middle East?"

ABOU AMMAR: The answer lies in the survival of the Revolution as a basic and determining element on the scene. Israel will never accept any peace formula as long as the Palestinian Revolution remains an effective factor on the scene because in such a case Israel would not have achieved its basic objective in security.

The Palestinian people have the only and final say in their historic, cultural, settler and property rights. World Zionism and Imperialism realize fully what this implies.

QUESTION: The Palestinian Revolution celebrates this week the Third Anniversary of the Battle of al-Karameh which took place on March 21, 1968. Would you comment on that?

ABOU AMMAR: The revolution which was able to restore al-Karameh (i.e. dignity) at the Battle of al-Karameh despite all the adversary conditions which confronted it at the time is capable of plowing its way despite all plots and "mines" and of achieving victory.

QUESTION: Addressing Palestinian Youth in Amman on January 30, 1970, you said: "1969 was the year of Arab plots and 1970 will be that of International conspiracies." This was reported in the English edition of "Fateh" dated February 6, 1970 (Vol. II, No. 3). Time proved that your revolutionary flare was correct. What does the year 1971 have in store for the Palestinian Revolution?

ABOU AMMAR: The year 1971 will be that of epics. In its course, the fate of the whole Arab nation, and not only that of our Palestinian people, will be decided -- and for generations to come.

QUESTION: What exactly took place last September in Jordan and how did this affect the Revolution?

ABOU AMMAR: What took place in Black September was not simply an attack by the Jordanian military regime against the Revolution but an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole. The attempt was written, produced and directed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Delivering his "state of the world" message to the U.S. Congress in late February, Nixon confessed that the gravest threat to peace in the world since he took office in 1968 were the September events in Jordan. This reveals the forces which the Revolution confronted and defeated last September. Nixon's confession is six months late. He was six months late in substantiating our charge of U.S. involvement when we seized in Ashrafieh Hospital in Amman the identification card of a U.S. Marines corporal (Mark Lanners England of the USMC, Service Number 2356949).

The Palestinian Revolution was not defeated last September -- neither militarily nor politically.

The confrontation showed that the Jordanian Army could not destroy the Resistance despite its use of the equivalent of 120,000 tons of TNT.

This quantity of ammunition could not have been used by the Jordanian Army against the Palestinian Revolution had it not been for unlimited U.S. supplies.

The Palestinian Revolution forces inflicted about 7,000 casualties on the Jordanian Army. In other words, 10 percent of the whole Jordanian Armed forces were felled by the Palestinian Revolution in September. King Hussein himself admitted 2,000 serious injuries in the ranks of his army. In Amman alone, the Jordanian Army lost 91 tanks, mostly of the Patton type. Of these 38 were destroyed completely and 53 were damaged.

These figures were confirmed by U.S. replenishments. The U.S. has replenished the Jordanian Army with 45 Patton tanks and 50 tank engines. The army also lost 120 other vehicles. And it not been for emergency shipments of ammunition from the U.S., including unprecedented and uninterrupted airlift, the Jordanian Army could not have been able to bear the brunt of the fighting.

The burdens borne by the Revolution in Black September were also heavy.

The Revolution took it upon itself to care for the families of over 3,400 killed and to treat some 10,800 injured.

It undertook to rebuild the (refugee) camps which were shelled with artillery, such as the

Wahadat Camp in Amman, where destruction was about 80 percent complete.

It shouldered the responsibility of 20,000 Palestinians who were detained from one to six months and that of their families.

It took it upon itself to look after the people who fled from Zarqa, Irbid, Amman and Ramtha as a result of the barbaric assault.

The Palestinian Revolution's material losses, amounted to 10¾ million pounds Sterling. Of these Fateh's share was 8¾ million pounds Sterling. Only part of this loss was compensated for through Arab contributions -- mainly from Algeria and Libya. The Arab Relief Committee on the other hand started its work with a four-month delay.

Meanwhile, military and financial aid is being pumped to the Jordanian regime. The Jordanian regime has received -- since September -- the equivalent of $ 105 million in military and financial aid. This excludes the value of ammunition stocks delivered in September.

QUESTION: Do the figures of 3,400 killed and 10,800 injured refer to casualties in the ranks of the Revolution's military cadres?

ABOU AMMAR: No. Most of the casualties involved civilians. To give you an idea, our fatal military losses included 910 fighters. Of these, 826 came from Fateh.

QUESTION: Why did the Palestinian Revolution accept to end the fighting in Jordan and to conclude an agreement with the Jordanian regime in Cairo September 27?

ABOU AMMAR: As I told you, the September assault was not only directed against us as Palestinian revolutionaries but it was an attempt at genocide against the Palestinian population as a whole.

When they shelled the camps with artillery fire their intent was to exterminate our people, our women and children.

We had to prevent the genocide and to avoid the creation of "two Yemens". And it is a characteristic ability of a revolution to retreat one step in order to advance two. The important thing is that the retreat should be organized and calculated.

Moreover, it goes without saying that the regime cannot coexist with us as the events have proved and that a revolution of the people can never be defeated.

QUESTION: How would you comment on claims that the Palestinian Revolution has ended or, at least, been brought to its knees?

ABOU AMMAR: The assault on the Palestinian Revolution has many facets. Besides the military assault, there is a financial, information and psychological assault aimed at leading the people to believe that the Revolution has ended, or has completed its role or is unable to fulfill the hopes pinned on it.

But six months have elapsed since September and the Revolution is here to stay with all its leadership and struggling cadres.

Of course, there are those who mourn the Revolution.

The so-called Peace Plan cannot be implemented as long as the people adhere to the Revolution. So it is part of the plot to lead the people to believe that the revolution has ended.

The forces of the Revolution have increased in number since September. To cite just one example: we lost 910 fighters in September but 4,500 fighters have since deserted the Jordanian Army and joined the ranks of the Palestinian Revolution. This is over and above the graduates of our military training camps.

On February 11-12, five months after Black September, the Palestinian Revolution proved it was staying put and defying. This is what took place in Mt. Hamalan (in Amman), after it was claimed that the Palestinian Revolution had relinquished the arms of its militia. At 5:30 a.m. that day, about 2,000 troops sneaked into Hamalan to lay their hands on arm stores of the militia. They discovered that we could not have been deceived into giving up our arms. We counter-attacked. We struck with rockets and heavy artillery. We closed down Amman airport for 48 hours and hit three planes. Our losses were 13 killed. Theirs were 70 killed and many injured.

In other words, the Revolution which was incepted in the late 1950's and launched in 1965 when the people were still sleeping; the Revolution which continued in 1967 when people were still stunned; and the Revolution which was able last September to withdraw its head from under the guillotine -- this Revolution will never end or be brought down to its knees.

HIJAZI FOR ROSENWASSER

Fateh Obtains Release of First Prisoner

The first Fateh member ever to be imprisoned by the Israeli authorities was released Feb.22 in return for an Israeli watchman abducted by the commandos from Israel 14 months ago.

Mahmoud Hijazi, who was arrested in January, 1965, was exchanged at the Lebanese border post with Shmuel Rosenwasser in the presence of Red Cross officials and representatives of the Lebanese government and the Palestine Armed Struggle Command.

Hijazi held a press conference at the Fateh office in Beirut during which he explained how he was tortured by the Israeli authorities during six years of imprisonment.

Hijazi described how the Israeli authorities once gave him two pills that caused a hemorrhage lasting for several hours. He said his cries were heard for hours in the prison where he was being tortured.

It was understood that negotiations through the Red Cross had been underway for several months.

Hijazi was born in Jerusalem Palestine and he lived in Jerusalem until 1948, when as a refugee on the East Bank he joined the Jordanian Army.

He left the Jordanian Army as a sergeant to join the freedom fighters. He joined Fateh forces in 1965 and was one of the early vanguards of the movement. He took part in the first operations carried out against the Zionist enemy.

On the Jan. 18, Mahmoud was captured wounded by the enemy after he ran out of ammunition in the battle of Beit Jibril in which the enemy lost 32 men between killed and wounded.

After his capture, the General Command of Assifa Forces requested the International Red Cross to attend to and visit the wounded prisoner as specified for by the Geneva Convention; simultaneously, the Assifa command warned the enemy against using any internationally agreed-upon illegal methods of interrogation with the prisoner.

Hijazi was not given the status of a prisoner of war. He was secretly and summarily tried by a court, and the verdict was delayed until the so called legislative council, the Knesset, reintroduced the death sentence as a punishment for "infiltrators".

On the June 4, 1965, Mahmoud was sentenced to death. This was another breach of International Law whereby a prisoner was sentenced according to a law that did not exist at the time of the "action". The Israeli press reported at the time that Mahmoud was dressed in the special red death suit waiting for execution.

At the time, the General Command of Assifa wrote to the Secretary General of the United Nations, stating clearly that Fateh will not allow the execution to happen, and if Hijazi was executed, "the enemy will pay a high price for its crime." The Command requested that the letter be distributed to all members of the United Nations, and to all international organizations. As a result of the pressure on the enemy, the execution was reduced to a life sentence.

Mahmoud stayed in prison until Feb. 28, 1971, when he was exchanged with Rosenwasser, who was captured by Fateh forces early in 1970.

Zionists Torture Arab 3 Years Without Trial

A Palestinian commando has said in London that he was tortured in Israeli jails for nearly three years without being brought to trial.

Moayad Othman Bahash, 21, who was brought here recently by the Palestinian Red Crescent for medical treatment, told a press conference March 15:

"The Israelis tortured me in a terrible way, almost continuously for three years without giving me a trial."

He said he was arrested in December 1967 on a charge of the attempted murder of another Palestinian. He said the charges against him were dropped in January 1969 and he was finally deported to Jordan in September 1970.

He said it was not until after his release that he joined the Fateh commandos. During his years in jail he said that the torture included beatings with sticks, being given electric shocks, and suspension from a high window by handcuffs.

Israeli Courts Are Busy Sentencing Palestinians

NABLUS -- An Israeli military court here sentenced March 18 a Palestinian commando to life imprisonment with hard labor for armed resistance and attacks on Israeli villages.

"The accused, Salah Haidar Hasan Abu Murtada, 24, was found guilty of firing at Israeli patrols, grenade attacks and recruiting members to Fateh.

The prosecutor told the court the aim of the commando group with whom Abu Murtada was captured near here was to lay mines and plan ambushes on the Nablus-Jerusalem road.

The accused said he did not regret his actions and refused the court's offer of a defense lawyer.

An Israeli military court in Gaza March 18 also sentenced Mohammed Houri 34, a clerk at the Civil Law courts to five months imprisonment and one year's suspended sentence for failing to notify the authorities of his alleged contact with a commando.

The prosecutor said that last year a Fateh commando visited Houri six times in his office and tried to recruit him to the organization.

Houri has been under arrest since last November.

Prison sentences ranging from 18 months to 20 years were also given to members of commando organizations by Israeli military courts during the first half of March.

In Gaza, Yunnis Said Abu Kassem, 18, was sentenced to 20 years in jail when found guilty of having carried out acts of resistance including the blowing up of a telephone pole and Labor Exchange Office in Deir Ballah.

Two men who pleaded guilty to membership in Fateh in Jerusalem were sentenced to two years in prison by a military court in Ramle. Seven men charged with them pleaded not guilty and were remanded.

Seven other men charged with membership in Fateh received sentences of from 18 months to eight years by a military court in Hebron.

Families of Gaza Men Held in Desert

JERUSALEM -- Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan disclosed March 9 that 29 families of suspected members of the Palestinian Resistance from Gaza are still being held in exile in the Sinai Desert. He refused to admit however that their detention constitutes concentration-camp conditions.

Replying in parliament to a Communist deputy, Gen. Dayan said some 160 Palestinian Arab men, women and children are still detained more than nine weeks after a major crackdown on guerrillas in the Gaza Strip, hotbed of Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation.

Authoritative sources said the exiles are in Abu Enaims, an abandoned manganese port 60 miles south of the Suez Canal on the Gulf of Suez and about 150 miles from Gaza.

Dayan said the exilings are part of a deliberate policy decision by Israeli occupation authorities to deny guerrilla fugitives "aid, shelter and comfort" afforded by their families.

Israel Erects Houses On Arab Land In Jerusalem

JERUSALEM -- Housing Minister Zeev Sharef said March 4 that 2,300 housing units will be built for new waves of Zionist settlers on expropriated Palestinian Arab land in occupied Jerusalem this year.

The level of construction will be maintained for the next two years, he told the state radio.

The ministry will spend 15 per cent of its total budget on the construction, or about $34 million.

In late February, Israel's Jerusalem Municipal Council approved, without one dissenting voice, the Housing Ministry plan to build the first 2,300 housing units of 21,000 to be constructed in and around East Jerusalem on some of the 3,000 acres of land expropriated from Palestinian Arabs last summer.

Over the next five years, Sharef sees the Jewish population of Jerusalem being boosted from 200,000 to about 270,000 with the remaining number of Palestinian Arab inhabitants rising from about 70,000 to 90,000.

The purpose of the annexation, the extensions of jurisdiction and the recently announced housing plan is, in effect, to try to forestall any possibility of internationalizing or redividing Jerusalem by making it predominantly Jewish in character, by widening further in Israel's favor the city's current population ratio.

Such an aim, of course, flies in the face of at least three United Nations Security Council and two General Assembly resolutions calling on Israel not to alter the character of the city.

There were bitter arguments locally, within Israel and abroad about the aesthetics of the plan, protests it will degrade the city by emplacing "bulky, inelegant towers" of high density apartments on some of its bald and ancient hilltops, and choke the city with freeways linking it with the housing projects.

But there were few if any arguments here about "israelizing" the city. Some local demonstrators against the plan carried placards proclaiming "Jewish Jerusalem, yes; ugly Jerusalem, no!" and they seemed to voice the majority view.

Again, there were disputes between Mayor Teddy Kollek and Israeli housing minister Zeev Sharef about the plan -- but on some of its construction aspects, mostly, not about its basic purpose.

AMMAN FETES AL-KARAMEH WITH A TWO KILOMETER PROCESSION

AMMAN - Over 30,000 Palestinian Revolution supporters participated March 21 in a two-kilometer long procession in Amman to mark the third anniversary of the battle of el-Karameh.

The anniversary marks "the first time in many years that an Israeli expedition had been seriously challenged, let alone be defeated. (See full story on al-Karameh on page).

The two-kilometer long procession passed through the Wahdat refugee camp and saluted the memory of those who had died for the Palestine cause at a memorial there.

Crowds cheered as the procession marched to the "martyrs' cemetery" on the outskirts of Amman.

Commandos from various organizations took part in the unarmed procession which set out Sunday, March 21, from the Ashrafiya quarter of south Amman.

A recorded message by Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was broadcast to thousands of people at the end of the procession.

Arafat urged the commandos to make a determined stand in defense of their cause and to tighten their grips on their rifles until victory.

He called on the masses throughout the Arab world to assume their responsibility in protecting and supporting the Palestinian Revolution.

CLASH ERUPTS IN HOLY CITY

JERUSALEM -- Israeli and Palestinian youths clashed March 10 in the old walled city of occupied Jerusalem after the Israelis attempted to stage a demonstration on the Temple Mount.

Police said two Israelis and a small Palestinian Arab girl were injured. Two Palestinian Arabs were arrested.

Witnesses said the incident began when the Israelis, members of the right-wing Betar movement, marched in procession to the Temple Mount. Police said they tried to raise the Israeli flag.

Women Soldier

A 24-year-old Israeli Army woman captain was severely wounded Feb.22 when shots were fired from an orange grove at the car she was driving into occupied Gaza town.

The Zionist officer is one of the very few women soldiers who have become casualties through Palestinian resistance action.

Only two women have been killed. Both were members of front line Nahal settlements.

While girls serve in many Israeli Army units, even near the front line, they are barred from fighting units. They all receive basic weapons training with rifles and Uzi sub-machine guns.

UN Human Rights Body Raps Israel

GENEVA -- The United Nations Human Commission condemned Israel March 15 for its policies in occupied territory.

A resolution accusing Israel of violating human rights in the territories was carried by the Commission by 14 votes to two with 14 abstentions. The two opposing votes were cast by the United States and Guatemala.

The resolution strongly deplored Israel's policies, which it said were aimed at placing the native Palestinian Arab population in a general state of repression, fear and deprivation.

Among the policies it condemned in particular were denial of the right of refugees to return to their homes, collective punishments, deportations and expulsions, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment and torture of prisoners, destruction of villages, town quarters and houses and confiscation of property.

The resolution also condemned the evacuation and transfer of sections of the Palestinian population on the occupied territory, and the transfer into the area of some of Israel's colonial settlers.

It deplored "the requisition on hospitals and their transformation into police stations," and called on Israel to enable all refugees and displaced people to return to their homes.

It also urged the International Red Cross Committee to help in ensuring human rights in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Palestinians Deported En Masse

AMMAN -- A new group of Palestinian Arabs have been deported to Jordan on charges of close association or sympathy with the Palestinian Resistance.

Twelve were expelled March 18 by way of the South Jordan desert. In February, 36 other Palestinian Arabs, aged between 17 and 55, were expelled by the same way.

GUPS Delegation Attends Tenth IUS Congress In Bratislava

A delegation often represented the General Union of Palestine Students at the 10th Congress of the International Union of Students held at Bratislava Czechoslovakia in February.

The first delegation of Palestinian students to participate in an IUS Congress in 1956 was headed by non-other than Abu Ammar, head of the PLO Central Committee, and included Abu Iyad, a leader of Fateh and Dr. Zuhair Alami, head of the Palestinian National Fund.

Led by GUPS President Amin Hindi, the delegation included Masri, Mona Khoury, Sherif Husseini, Mohammad Shayh, Sadek Shafe'i, Abdel Kader Barham, Issam Kamel and Tayseer Kubba's former GUPS president who has just been released by the Israeli authorities after serving a prison term of about three years.

Representatives from the delegation attended the Executive Committee meeting of the I.U.S. which prepared the agenda of the 10th Congress as well as the Secretariat Report.

During its two-day session in Prague, the IUS Executive Committee turned down a request by Israel to join the union.

The 10th Congress of the IUS opened in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, on Feb. 3 in the presence of more than 400 delegates representing about 75 student unions from all parts of the world.

Held on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the IUS, the 10th Congress acquired great political importance for it discussed the main issues of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle as well as the ways and means of strengthening student solidarity with Palestinian, Indochinese, African and Latin American peoples.

The conferees expressed their support for and solidarity with the world struggle for national liberation and against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and neo-colonialism in a series of resolutions passed at a marathon closing session which extended from 10 a.m., Feb. 10, to 4 a.m., Feb. 12.

Several of the resolutions pertained to the Arab World. One dealt specifically with the "anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle of the Palestinian people and students." It condemned the support "accorded to Israel by the imperialist powers---mainly the US, Britain and the German Federal Republic" and undercook "to hail and support, both morally and materially, the armed struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestinian Resistance Movement."

Another resolution on Jordan strongly condemned "the massacres committed by the Jordanian reactionaries against the Palestinian and Jordanian national liberation movements" and demanded "an end to the repressive measures of the regime against the Palestinian Resistance Movement."

Asked about the reaction of the conferees to the Palestinian delegation, a GUPS delegate said:

"The welcome extended to us was extremely warm. Wherever we went, and each time that we entered the conference room or took the floor to speak, we were greeted with applause and chants of A-L-F-A-T-A-H. We wore the kaffia head-dress around the shoulder and it was extremely popular. We also issued joint statements with some of the delegations."

The first official delegation of Palestinian students to participate in an IUS Congress in Prague in 1956 included Yasser Arafat (left), Salah Khalaf (third from left) and Zohair Alami (right). Arafat now heads the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Khalaf is a Fateh leader while Dr. Alami is now heading the Palestinian National Fund. The troika represented at the time the League of Palestinian Students. They spent 10 days at the IUS Congress in Prague as observers before earning recognition as full-fledged members. Several invitations were extended to them at the time. As a result, Dr. Alami left for Moscow while Khalaf left for East Germany. Abu Ammar's sudden illness after the congress prevented him from visiting Romania.

Feb. 8 was observed by the conferees as a Solidarity Day with the struggling peoples of the world. Rallies were held in several Czech cities. The solidarity meeting with the Palestinian and other Arab peoples was observed in Brno, an industrial city known for its arms factories.

A smaller delegation left Bratislava Feb. 14 to Helsinki, where they represented GUPS at the International Conference on the African Students and Liberation Movements. The conference was jointly sponsored by the IUS and the Union of Finnish Students and extended through Feb. 18.

The delegation travelled to Moscow on Feb. 18 on the invitation of the Soviet Komsomol and to supervise the annual elections at the GUPS branch in Moscow.

ORIENTAL JEWS PROTEST ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

JERUSALEM -- About 300 Jerusalem Jews, calling themselves Black Panthers, demonstrated here March 3 against discrimination because of their non-European background.

The group, consisting of young Israelis from North African and Middle East countries, demanded better housing and higher paid jobs, which they said were reserved for European emigrants now reaching Israel.

Veteran Israelis said it was the first sizeable demonstration on ethnic grounds in 15 years.

A day before the protest, police detained 14 leaders of the group, including one Israeli associated with new left circles in the capital.

The demonstrators scuffled with police when they tried to converge on the municipal jail where their colleagues are being held. But there was no outright violence.

Extra riot police had been brought to Jerusalem in expectation of a bigger turnout.

Meanwhile, an Iraqi Jew who managed to return to Iraq recently after 20 years of absence in Israel said March 3:

"Since the first hour of our arrival in Israel, we, the oriental Jews, have realized that we are treated as second class citizens."

Youssef Isha Soufir Saghir said: "I am pretty sure that we are instigated to emigrate to Israel only to be servants of Western Jews."

He said that not less than 90 per cent of the Iraqi Jews wanted to flee their miserable life in Israel and return to Iraq. "They are suffering deprivation and very low income," he said.

In contrast, he added, the big enterprises and key government posts are strictly reserved for Western Jews. Most of the oriental Jews serve in houses, hotels, and restaurants, Saghir said.

He said that the highest post to be occupied by an oriental Jew in Israel was that of a municipal accountant.

Israeli Military Budget Reaches $ 1,500 Million

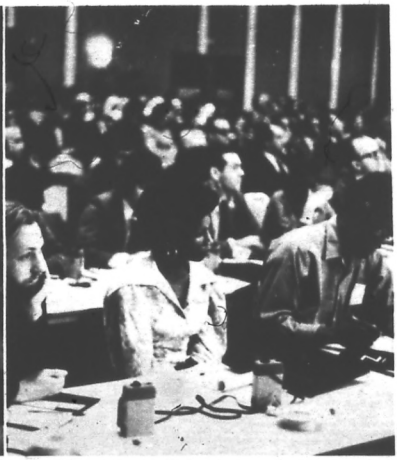
TEL AVIV -- Israel's military budget will amount to the equivalent of about 630 million sterling (or over 1,500 million dollars) during the coming financial year, the Director General of the Ministry of Defense, Yehoshua Lavie, said here March 12.

Local production on military items would increase to some 21 million sterling (51 million dollars) he said.

New type of military equipment are now being produced locally, including new weapons systems and spare parts.

A week later, on March 20, Israel's Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, forecast that there would be no reduction in the military budget of the Zionist settler-state during the next five years.

Addressing a conference of the majority Labor party in occupied Jerusalem he said that no lessening of the military burden was possible whether the present state of "no war and no peace" continued, or whether it was replaced by a so-called formal peace.



Symposium on Palestine Supports Armed Struggle for Liberation, Blasts Peace Fraud

The Second International Symposium on Palestine (Part II) sponsored by the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) and the Kuwaiti Graduate Society was held in Kuwait Feb. 13-17.

The symposium ended with an appeal calling for "unequivocal support to the armed struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation and against any political settlement." The appeal also condemned the "repeated and continued attempts by the Jordanian regime to liquidate the Palestinian Revolution."

A total of about 300 people representing scholars, political parties, popular organizations and liberation movements from five continents took part in the five-day conference.

Their discussions centered around:

1. "The connivance of world zionism and the world imperialist system to wrest Palestine from its indigenous population and to establish therein an expansionist, terrorist, racist and imperialist settler-state which now occupies the whole of Palestine as well as parts of the United Arab Republic and Syria."

2. "The Palestinian Revolution as the vanguard of the Arab Revolution and as an integral part of the world liberation movement."

3. "The humane objective of the Palestinian armed struggle for national liberation--namely the establishment in liberated Palestine of a unity, non-sectarian, democratic state."

The three principal lectures were delivered by doctors Walid Khalidi, Yussef Sayegh and Nabil Sha'ath.

Dr. Khalidi spoke on the Historical Background of the Palestine Problem, Dr. Sayegh discussed the Strategy of the Palestinian Revolution while Dr. Sha'ath spoke of the Palestine of Tomorrow--namely a unitary, democratic state in the whole of liberated Palestine.

A total of about 25 discussion papers were presented to the Symposium.

Israeli Fascists Blow Up Palestinian Houses

NABLUS -- The mukhtar (headman) of an occupied village near Nablus has appealed against the blowing up of five buildings belonging to suspected Palestinian Arab resistants.

The mukhtar, Mohammed Shafik Haj Yousef, of Nablus, said in his appeal to occupation authorities that the blowing up of houses would not end resistance.

The Israeli military authorities blew up during the second week of March two houses in the village belonging to two men arrested on suspicion of membership in a Fateh commando cell alleged to be responsible for several grenade attacks.

In Gaza, Israeli occupation forces blew up March 10 the house of Abdul Wahab Masri, who was arrested over a month ago.

Following is the full text of the lecture delivered by Dr. Nabil Sha'ath on The Palestine-of-Tomorrow at the Second International Symposium on Palestine held in Kuwait Feb. 13-17, 1971.

PALEST TOMO

Two years ago the Fateh delegate to the Cairo Conference in Support of Arab Peoples declared confidently in the name of the Palestinian Revolution: "We are fighting today to create the new Palestine of tomorrow; a progressive, democratic and non-sectarian Palestine in which Christian, Moslem and Jew will work, worship, live peacefully and enjoy equal rights."

His statement further added: "Our Palestinian revolution still stretches its welcoming hand to all human beings who want to fight for and live in a democratic, tolerant Palestine irrespective of race, color or religion."

The declaration was followed by another by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, P.F.L.P., and several others by FATEH.

The Cairo declaration was the first explicit enunciation of the new perception of the Palestinian Resistance Movement of the Palestine of Tomorrow. It certainly was not a wholly new vision. For, as far back as the 1930s, the Palestinian Arabs had visions of a unitary, plural and democratic state involving them and the Jewish settlers who were living then in Palestine. This was given in testimony to the Peel Commission in 1937 and was repeated later in conferences and by official delegations.

It was last heard of in 1948 during the Bernadotte mediation, the expulsion of the Arab Palestinians from their homeland in 1948 into their tragic diaspora destroyed the vision and the tolerance that it embodied. From 1948 to 1968, the Palestinians dream was "the return" to the lost paradise. The survival of his corporate national entity from utter destruction and dissolution. To the Arab Palestinian who stayed in his land, the vision was redemption from oppression from second-class citizenship and from economic and political slavery.

To the Palestinians in diaspora or under the Israeli heal, the tormentor and oppressor was a Jew. Exclusive membership in the Histadrut or the Kibbutzim or Moshavim was kept for Jews. Expulsion from the land was made to accommodate other Jews. The law of return gave the right of instant citizenship to Jews coming from any part of the world and only to Jews. Dayan in 1967 was fully repeating earlier claims when he said he wanted to have a Jewish State, "a Jewish State like the French have a French State." The Jewish State was supported by Jewish money, Jewish immigrants, Jewish political influence and fanaticism.

In the meanwhile, the Arab Palestinian was not considered in the plans for the Jewish state.

To Israel Zangwill, and later on to Ch. Weizmann "there was a country which happens to be called Palestine, a country without a people...."

Uri Avnery notes that not once did Th. Herzl mention the Arabs of Palestine in his "Jewish State".

To Herzl, the Arab was the "invisible man".

To a question from Albert Einstein, Weizmann answered angrily: "What Arabs? they are hardly of any consequence".

In the same tone, answered Golda Meir a London Times reporter in 1969: "What Palestinians? They never existed."

In 1967 L.F. Stone noted; Jewish terrorism "encouraged" Arabs to leave areas the Jews wished to take over for strategic or demographic reasons. They tried to make as much of Israel as free of Arabs as possible.

In 1895, Herzl was considering tasks to assign to the natives i.e. Arabs of Palestine; like killing wild beasts and drying swamps before he spirits them outside Palestine gently and circumspectly.

In 1970 debate was going on in Tel Aviv about how fast should East Jerusalem be Judaized and made Arab-free.

It is no wonder that the accent of the whole Palestine National Covenant issued in 1964 and ammended in 1968 was on the word "Arab", a tormented plea for national survival from genocide and racist oppression, a reaffirmation of basic elemental rights -- the rights of an oppressed people to resist oppression.

But, the National Covenant did not have a clear vision of the Palestine-of-Tomorrow especially in its treatment of the citizenship rights of Jewish settlers in the unfortunate Article Six.

The Palestinian revolutionary vision could only emerge from armed resistance.

A people's war cannot be motivated and sustained by revenge alone.

Mental and verbal violence can be built around negation of the present status and nostalgia for the status quo ante, but a popular armed struggle that needs to mobilize mental efforts for a long-time must be built on the vision of tomorrow rather than on the haunting nightmare of yesterday.

It was the rekindling of hope and the rebirth of Palestinian resistance and self-confidence after Karameh that gave birth to the new vision, the democratic state Israel.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE STATE AND ITS RATIONALE

The last two years have witnessed lots of discussions around the idea of this Palestinian vision of the Palestine-of-Tomorrow -- and it remains more of a vision than a detailed program.

We shall go a little later into some of the polemics, but let us assert from the very beginning that the fundamental ingredient of the whole idea is a radical change in the Palestinian's view of the enemy -- a redefinition of the enemy or the enemies of the Palestinians and of their revolutionary movement.

In a leaflet issued in Arabic by the P.F.L.P. in 1970, under the title "Around the Democratic Palestine", a beautiful distinction is drawn between the concepts of a democratic solution of the Israeli dilemma, of the Palestinian problem and of the Jewish question.

The pamphlet correctly dismisses the first two i.e. a national liberation movement is not required to find a democratic solution to a racist oppression nor could it compromise on the liberation of a usurped homeland.

The democratic solution is aimed at the problem of the people who were used to make the aggression, the pawns of the aggressor, those who were manipulated by Chauvinism, racism or class interest into oppressing other people, but who are or have been themselves victims of oppression and exploitation. The Jews are a classical example. They have been the classical victim in modern history of the most criminal assaults based on Chauvinism, racism and class interests.

Three solutions were offered to the international Jewish question:

1. The Western liberal solution: indicating assimilation and absorption into western societies.
2. The socialist solution: asserting that the end of exploitation through a proletarian revolution would render the problem null and void.
3. The zionist solution: springing from an indictment of the human nature, that minorities will forever be oppressed by majorities and that the only way out for oppressed minorities is to try to establish themselves as a majority in some small country. But as it turns out in Palestine, creating such a country by invasion, and uprooting its population, succeeds only in populating a glorified ghetto instead of the myriad small ones, a ghetto that is in the long run less safe and secure than the older and smaller ones.

The democratic state idea is clearly superior in that it offers the Jew in Palestine equality and freedom from persecution, discrimination and anxiety and yet retains his option to remain a jew, to practice his religion and speak language and share co-equally in the building of a challenging, and visionary new country, a country where he is no more oppressor, and no more oppressed; no victim and no aggressor with no exclusive superior rights nor a second-class status; possessor of a universal, pluralist vision, not a sufferer from ethnocentric claustrophobia.

However, the democratic state idea cannot solve the international Jewish problem, except as a model for other states. Changing economic relationships and creating truly democratic and progressive societies in America and Europe where the Jew as well as other minority groups can live as a first-class citizen, share coequally in the tasks of society while retaining his option to worship, behave, marry and personally develop as a practicing Jew.

WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT:

1. The focus of the idea is on the whole Palestine, i.e. the parts occupied in 1948 as well as those occupied in 1967. Therefore the democratic Palestine bears absolutely no geographical -- leave alone ideological -- resemblance to the so-called Israeli buffer Palestinian state we shall call "Palestinian" of the West Bank and Gaza.

2. This new Palestine, however, is not just another Israel in disguise. It must be a non-racist, non-sectarian progressive land that is part and parcel of the Arab revolutionary movement and future federated Arab land.

3. Therefore to attain it, liberation must be continued until the Zionist state is destroyed, i.e. it is a result of liberation and not a substitute for it or an accommodation with the racist Israel, not even on one inch of Palestinian soil.

4. The population of the new Palestine is to include all the Jewish settlers and all the Palestinians in exile or under occupation who choose to live in Palestine and accept an equal status as Palestinians with no special rights or privileges.

5. The new state shall not be another Lebanon or Cyprus, i.e. bi-national or multi-religious, rather it would be non-sectarian, secular and unitary. Therefore, no rigidification of sectarian lines will be allowed. People will not be allotted seats or offices according to their religion. But, the state shall not allow discrimination based on religion, race or colour.

6. The present stage of the struggle, that of a national democratic liberation is a very elemental stage indeed which will end only when the economic, military and political institutions and entities perpetuating the racist hegemony over the Arab Palestinians are dismantled. At such a stage it is very hard, even premature to define what the new democratic country will look like, especially that no part of the Jewish settler community is engaged in the struggle yet. Efforts directed at reaching a final detailed version of the New Country may only lead to utopian fantasies. It is much easier to define what the new country will not be and shall not allow:

a. It will not be a new racist, exclusive state for the Arabs or allow regeneration of a new Jewish state.

b. It therefore should not allow de facto apartheid to replace a totally exclusive state.

c. It shall not be theocratic, feudalistic, aristocratic, imperialist or a base for any imperialist power. It shall not allow discrimination based on any form of political oppression or economic exploitation.

One could however read some further positive aspects from the negative aspects.

For example, liquidating the racist institutions will transfer to the new state a large share of Palestinian agriculture and industry collectively-owned now by Zionist institutions. This passing of economic resources into the hands of the new state will create new economic relations and realities which does indicate some future trends and movements. Also, the destruction of imperialist links and investments will create new realities and would integrate the Palestinian economy within the Arab economy after liberation.

REACTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE OF TOMORROW ON THE ARAB SIDE

We must start here, because the credibility of the new idea depends considerably on the degree of acceptance and eventually of conviction that its proponents -- the Arabs -- have in it.

Israeli rebuttal -- as we shall see -- depends basically on dismissing the idea as a propaganda tactic that the Palestinians and the Arabs in general are using to gain world sympathy for their chauvinistic designs, that the Arabs are lying, that they do not really mean it, or that they were forced into it as a result of their defeats.

Such a notion was rejected categorically by resistance spokesmen in several occasions reasserting that such vision was the basis of a new strategy and not a tactic. Besides, it was only in the years of exile, defeat and despair (1948-1968) that the Palestinians had abandoned the idea, and that its reemergence was the result of the rebirth of hope after 1968.

However, one must expose here the difficulties facing the idea among the Palestinians in particular and the Arabs in general:

1. There are those who never accepted the idea and still reject it as a sellout to the enemy or a necessary propaganda tactic. An article in the Beirutial-Hayat daily accused Arab leftists advocating the idea of being Zionist stooges. The article claims to uncover the Talmudic roots of their thoughts, and reiterates the old anti-semitic trick of linking Zionism to an international communist conspiracy, a typical western-style anti-semitic rightist slander based heavily on Nazi propaganda. Those Arabs who came to unwillingly accept the Zionist approach to the Jewish problem and believe that the Palestinian problem is a religious phenomenon, not a settler - colonialist one, could not be transformed easily. It is paradoxical for the outsiders to note that it was the fighters and particularly the young Ashbal (cubs) who adopted the idea quickly while resistance still comes from the city bourgeoisie, which still by and large maintains chauvinist mental violence as the only substitute to revolutionary violence. Revolutionary education, the teaching of Hebrew in refugee camps and increasing contacts with progressive Jews have helped many Arabs overcome their deep-seated fears and hatred of the Jews -- a fear that was basically created by the Zionist occupation of Palestine. Such contacts created a more human perception of the Jew.

2. There are those who never understood the idea and its implications and confused it with the idea of the client Palestinian state thinking that it was a substitute to liberation rather than its desired end-result. Some of those deliberately misrepresent the idea for partisan purposes. As for the majority, they come to accept the idea when they really understand it.

3. A third category of Arab revolutionaries accept the approach to the Jewish problem but reject the idea of a Palestinian State, on the grounds of viability and feasibility. They would rather talk about a democratic solution or a democratic situation but not a state. They correctly note that the liberated Palestine cannot and should not be kept as an alien state, a new Israel in disguise, but should become part of a visionary progressive democratic United Arab State. The PFLP, the ALF, and the PDFLP basically subscribe to the idea. And Matapen (the Israeli Socialist Organization) is coming to espouse the concept as well. This is not at all negated by Fateh which thinks of the Pales-

TINE OF ROW

tinian Democratic State as just a stage towards the united Arab federation of tomorrow -- a federation in which the Palestinian Jew will enjoy full political, cultural and religious rights, free of discrimination, oppression and exploitation. It is true that the Arab Liberation Front has waged a bitter campaign against the idea, rejecting it on the basis of regionalism. The campaign has been very unfortunate because it conveyed the idea that this new vision of the Palestine-of-Tomorrow is subject to inter-Arab polemics, destroying thus its credibility. This is the more unfortunate in light of the repeated assertions that the ALF does not advocate a chauvinist solution to the Jewish problem. Its attack on regionalism therefore sounds hypocritical, partisan and meaningless in light of the present Arab regionalist experience itself, especially that of the more progressive Arab states ruled by so-called nationalist parties. The attack was so virulent however as to force other organizations into defensive positions. Such a state of paralysis delayed the Palestine National Congress from amending Article Six of the Covenant, thus giving the Zionists a windful opportunity to attack the Democratic State on the basis of Palestinian inconsistency and tactical maneuvering: "Saying something in English and in Arabic something else" as Harkabi, the Israeli-Intelligence - officer-turned-propagandist, is fond of repeating.

The main group of critics focus on the problem of numbers, claiming that the Arabs of Palestine will be a minority in the New Palestine, an argument which is used in reverse by the Zionists who claim, in their turn, that the New Palestine will have a Jewish minority. In fact the number of Arab Palestinians under occupation or in exile is just about equal at this time to the number of Jewish settlers (about 2,750,000 each). The real problem is, not that of numbers. Racist minorities in South Africa, Algeria and the whole of Africa until recently have dominated large majorities and kept them under official or de facto apartheid. Unless Palestine is liberated, Zionist Israel is dismantled and revolutionary integration with the Arab world is achieved, and eventually imperialism is checked and defeated in the area, the danger will be truly a potential recurrence of Zionist racism. But, in the same time, the nature of the liberation struggle, the international situation and the institution of democratic guarantee will safeguard the right of Jews whatever their numbers in the New Palestine. Furthermore, as the revolution escalates, several Jews may be expected to join the liberation fight which in itself will add another guarantee to the post-liberation state.

4. A group of critics who reject the religious orientation of the idea, especially as it was originally presented as a nation of Moslems, Christians and Jews. These Arab critics insist on a secular interpretation and argue that unless the new state is a socialist people's republic of workers and peasants it will not be acceptable to them. The Palestinian organisations have generally moved away from the purely religious identification. Fateh insists that the New Palestine will not be a multi-religious, neo-Lebanon but non-sectarian state where religious lines are rigidified by a quota system. The state will not be built around the three religions, but will allow people the free practice of their personal beliefs. As for the future economic system applied, whether it will be socialism or otherwise, it is premature to engage in such controversy.

First, because the present stage of the struggle is that of democratic national liberation where the major contradiction is that with the racist imperialist forces and controversy of such a nature will make it hard to achieve national unity. As an example, the word socialism is not even mentioned in the program of the NLF of Vietnam or the charter of the provisional government.

Secondly, because a true application of the Democratic State idea can only be a full democratic participation of the Jewish settlers in deciding the form of government of the New Palestine.

There is agreement however, that the new state shall not allow any re-emergence of exploitation, oppression or racist economic apartheid, and that the Zionist economic institution will be turned over to the New Progressive State.

In summation, the armed Palestinian resistance organisations are all in agreement about the major thrust of the New Palestine, namely: i.e. relations with the Jewish settlers, although they differ on application and ideology. Their vision is one of a progressive, democratic and secular. There remains a major task of education and institutional change to make the idea well-rooted and universally acceptable among the Arab masses. This is not difficult when the revolution is suffering from reverses as it has been in the last few months. Success brings more tolerance and understanding. Escalation of the revolution also diminishes the fruitless which reinforces the Palestinian progressive ideas. This point will be taken up next.

REACTIONS ON THE JEWISH SIDE:

I. IN ISRAEL

In general, only few Israeli Jews (Jewish settlers in Palestine) have heard of the idea first hand, i.e. not through the interpretation or emanation of the Israeli propaganda machinery. This is due to the inability of the Palestinian Resistance Movement so far to penetrate Israel with direct information. Fateh and "P.L.O. broadcasts from Cairo beamed short radio programs in Hebrew (10 minutes and 30 minutes daily). The P.L.O.'s Voice of Palestine in English was directed to Israel and offered a 15 minutes daily program, basically centering around the democratic state idea. All these programs were stopped in July 1970 when the broadcasting stations were closed by the U.A.R. authorities, following acceptance of the Rogers initiative.

The distribution of printed materials and face-to-face contacts have not reached many settlers yet. It is imperative that a serious drive be made to reach as many Jewish settlers as possible to communicate to them the new alternative to Israel offered by the Palestinians. As things stand today most Israelis were led to believe -- through the Zionist propaganda machine -- that if the Arabs were able to occupy Palestine they will throw all the Jews into the sea. This has been the cornerstone of Zionist propaganda beamed to the Jewish settlers and to the world at large. It is most important to the Zionist oligarchy to motivate the Jewish settlers to fight for Israel as if they were fighting for their very survival. Images of Massada and the horrors suffered by the Jews throughout their history are recreated and reiterated to prevent any popular change of attitude towards the Palestinians.

One should not be lured into day-dreaming regarding the possible conversion of Jews to the ideals of the Democratic State. Israel proved to be a safe haven delivered to the Jews an exclusive state with superior special privileges. Even the Israeli working classes are benefitted in the program of the NLF of Vietnam or the charter of the provisional government.

Secondly, because a true application of the Democratic State idea can only be

FATEH LEADER

'We Cannot Lay Down Our Arms For We Would Be Giving Up Our Lives; Jordan Massacres Are Part of Rogers Plan'

"The Rogers Plan is intended to provide a temporary solution to territorial problems at the expense of the Arab national interest. Whoever wants to understand the September massacre outside this context is greatly mistaken."

With those words Abul-Hassan a leader of the Palestine National Liberation movement Fateh rapped the "Peace Plan" in a lecture commemorating the sixth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution launched by Fateh at the tail-end of 1964.

Abul-Hassan said the brainchild of the U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers was not put forth in 1967 "when the (Arab) masses were crushed; when (their) leaderships had nothing to say except stand before the people and practice auto-criticism; when all (Arab) governments were pledging to unite their march and when Dayan and the U.S. were expecting the Arabs to sign a surrender treaty."

The plan, the commando leader explained, was rather brought to light in 1970 -- as soon as the Palestinian Revolution was able "to create and armed population enjoying political freedom", as soon as it succeeded in resurrecting the Arab fighter and shortly after Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan declared that Zionists should prepare themselves for widening their graves.

THE LECTURE

Following is a liberal translation of large excerpts from Abul-Hassan's lecture:

In the history of each revolution, there are important phases where everything has to be examined anew.

The phase of clashes in Jordan and the adverse effect that these have had on the balance of power have led us to a situation where the Palestinian Revolution is required to create new facts so that it may speak anew from positions of strength.

True, - we are passing today in the stage where we are feeling the wound as well as the brunt of the siege. But we have always to say the truth even while our necks are on the guillotine. The revolutionary does not fear the masses for the sake of which he is struggling. And the Palestinian revolutionary, who is the vanguard of the genuine Arab Revolution, is required to tell the whole truth about revisionism, stupidity and conspiracy.

Top priority in any lecture today is for subjects which constitute the current historical turning point through which we are passing. Priorities lay in answers to questions pertaining to the future of the Palestine Revolution, the Peace Plan, the Palestinian state and the subject of national unity.

THE REVOLUTION

To answer queries about these subjects, we find ourselves today forced to turn to the years 1958 (when Fateh was incepted) and 1965 (when it launched the revolution).

Fateh was incepted in 1958, when the Arab masses thought (in the wake of the Syrian-Egyptian merger) that the liberation of Palestine had become a question of time only and that they had found, at last, both the road to and the leadership for liberation. In 1958, the revolutionary vanguard was able, with great insight, to realize that this was not the case...

The revolution was launched on the eve of 1965, or more than two and a half years prior to the June War of 1967, because Fateh had been aware since 1963 that Israel was ready for a new expansionist thrust.

Whoever wants to understand Fateh then must not forget that our battle in the region was, and has been for a long time now, a battle against imperialism.

Through the Campell-Bannerman Report of 1905 (named after British Premier Sir Henry Campbell - Bannerman), imperialist circles advocated the establishment of an alien state in Palestine that would separate the Arabs of Asia from the Arabs of Africa, that would secure control over the Suez Canal and that would hinder pan-Arab unity.

It was not Chaim Weizmann's ingenuity, charm or eloquence which earned him the Balfour Declaration. The latter Declaration was made in 1917, when Zionism came forth and told World Imperialism: "I am your tool for implementing this scheme (of the Campbell-Bannerman Report)." Israel was thus carved out in 1948 as an offshoot of a British plan laid down in 1905. The responsibility of implementing the latter plan was subsequently assumed by the U.S. as soon as it became the leader of World Imperialism.

POLITICAL EMIGRATION

Wondering why imperialism was able to control the region, Fateh thought that in order to change our receptiveness for colonization, we had to put an end to political emigration. We had to put an end to the attitude of the masses that they are helpless and indifferent to what goes on around them. We had to put an end to the attitude of the masses that they are persecuted and have no right to decide on what goes on over their land. This explains why the word "Authority" in the Arab World has become synonymous to terrorism and repression. This is why also, reference by our masses to dictatorships and violence is so frequent.

A society which has lost its political freedom cannot possibly be a fighting society. Only a free society is capable of being a heroic society. People deprived of political freedom constitute a sum of individuals rather than a communal or collective society.

The society which strives to wrestle with and defeat imperialism must have a collective or communal spirit.

The signs of the political emigration gripping our masses were evidenced by our withdrawal from society (instead of participating in the society's political or social life, the individual concentrates on building an economic entity for himself to secure his future and that of his family); by our frequent references to the glories of the past like tourist guides; and by our predisposition to submission.

Fateh's primary concern therefore was: How to end political emigration? How to put an end to withdrawal from society? How to put an end to submission? How to end the phase in which the Arab masses sat idly by, like spectators watching a soccer match, applauding for one team or the other without ever controlling the results of the game?

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

Fateh's answer was: Through the exercise of revolutionary violence. Struggle and revolutionary violence alone can change the nature of society.

No one in history was able to build a civilization except through involvement of the masses in a struggle for a just cause... Revolution implies the exercise of revolutionary violence. - It implies armed struggle for a just cause.

THREE SOLGANS

This is why, since its inception in 1958, Fateh brandished three slogans:

1. A long-term popular revolution (revolution and not resistance) is our road to the liberation of Palestine.

2. The liberation of Palestine is our road to Arab unity.

3. Revolution until victory rather than revolution until suicide.

All three slogans reveal that Fateh believes that "Palestine" is the Arab nation's road to everything; that "Palestine" has a national depth rather than a geographic one; that "Palestine," in terms of revolutionary endeavor, means conviction that the liberation of Palestine leads us to Arab unity and that unity secures us freedom and that freedom and unity will solve our economic problems.

We started under the name of the "Palestinian national Liberation Movement' in the hope that the national depth of Palestine will expand to include, in practice, a wider circle of the masses, and to become then a "national movement for the liberation of Palestine."

But it was impossible for us to start so big, particularly that we reject fake ideas; and fake ideas are not wrong ideas but they are ideas which you are unable to execute. This is why our revolution started in occupied territory and the national depth of Palestine began to expand to include both banks of the Jordan River.

JUNE 5

Time went by and the advent of June 5, 1967, marked a turning point in the history of the Arab nation but the days have shown that June 5 did not mark a turning point in the Arab society's ruling mentality.

On June 5, 1967, everybody wept and repented while telling the revolutionaries: Carry on with the revolution or else we shall be forced to surrender.

And you know that any territorial achievement which any Arab state looks forward to today has been made possible only through the three years of relentless struggle waged by our people. What they are running after today, what they are begging for from Nixon and Rogers could have never been obtained without the thousands of martyrs sacrificed by our people.

Don't you think it is significant that the first defeat of the Israeli armed forces was on the hands of the popular army (at the Battle of al-Karameh on March 21, 1968), and not any other army? Don't you think it is significant that the U.S., which refused in the past to even mention the word "Palestine," cannot now ignore this "terrorist" element?

ROGERS PLAN

The question which poses itself: Why was the Rogers Plan put forward in 1970 and not in 1967?

Had the Rogers Plan been put forward in 1967, the Arabs would have erected a statue for the Secretary of State. The masses were crushed. Their leaderships had nothing to say except stand before the people and practice auto-criticism. All governments were pledging to unite their march. Dayan and the U.S. were expecting the Arabs to sign a peace treaty.

Don't you recall Dayan's words: Each time that someone knocked at the door, I said to myself this is the emissary of the Arabs coming to sign the treaty of surrender and peace. Don't you recall his words when we launched our revolution: Fateh is an egg in my hand and I need only to exert some pressure to crush it. Don't you recall his words in the wake of al-Karameh: He who puts his hand in a beehive... Don't you recall his words on May 15, 1969: Israelis have to prepare themselves for widening their graves.

This is why the Rogers Plan

YES TO PEACE WITH JUDAISM; NO TO PUPPET BUFFER STATE OR TO PEACE WITH ZIONISM

came about in 1970. It was intended to about several important matters.

Before going into that, however, you should know that imperialism does not fear a religious, fanatic and extremist but unarmed party. Nor does imperialism fear a communist but unarmed party. But imperialism dreads an armed popuation.

The Palestinian Revolution was able to create for the first time in 50 years and on both banks of the River Jordan an armed people in the Arab region. All revolutionary forces in the Arab region did not dare arm their masses because of prevailing contradictions which they were unable to solve. When such contradictions exist between the people and these forces, the latter cannot tolerate arming the people.

ISLE OF FREEDOM

Because there were no contradictions between your revolution and the people, your revolution was able to arm the, people, to liberate them and to end their political emigration.

Isn't it significant that ever since our people on the East Bank took up arms, emigration started to decline despite the prevailing meanings and state of war. Isn't it significant that many of our people came to the East Bank from Europe and the Americas in the wake of the June War?

The East Bank of the River Jordan was the only island in the Arab Region which came to represent the Island of Freedom in the full sense.

The Rogers Plan was put forward in 1970 to abort this great achievement. Rogers knew that freedom spreads like a virus and that the East Bank lies at the door of the region's oil riches.

ARAB FIGHTER

Rogers also gave birth to his plan in 1970 because we had succeeded in resurrecting the Arab fighter which had disappeared except from the books of poetry. This is what made Dayan say at the onset of 1970: I can reach wherever the Phantom can reach, but the East Bank of the Jordan River is another subject.

The so-called "Peace Plan" is tantamount to a temporary solution to territorial problems at the expense of the Arab national interest. Those who accepted the Peace Plan, did so on this basis. And whoever wants to understand the September massacre outside this context is greatly mistaken.

The (Jordanian) regime was able to wage the battle, not because our own forces had dwindled with time, but because new factors had emerged on the scene allowing the regime to enter the confrontation better prepared.

NIXON STATEMENTS

It is also significant that, in the wake of the September massacre, Nixon made two statements to the effect that the Middle East events proved that it is not always necessary to use tanks for external objectives (these could be used against isles of freedom) and that Israel is a faithful friend of the U.S. (because it didn't cross the River Jordan and allowed the Jordan troops to besiege Amman).

I do not deny that mistakes were committed on the (Palestinian) scene. These mistakes are due to the fact that Palestine constitutes a national depth and that whoever leads the Palestinian Revolution will lead the Arab Revolution. This is why the Arab states started to invade the scene of Palestinian endeavor with puppet organizations. When the Palestinian Revolution wondered in the past whether it should sacrifice this or that (Arab) state, the answer was always: Instead of letting them besiege us, let us try to involve them. As a result, instead of subjecting Arab contradictions to the Palestinian Revolution, the Palestinian Revolution started to become subjected to these Arab contradictions.

This is what explains the errors which were exploited by the regime.

Rogers told the regime: If you want to be a party in the settlement, you should prove first that you have the situation under control...

AIM FOILED

I do not claim that we were able to realize victories in the recent (1970) clashes. But we were able to foil the aim of the September crackdown. The balance of power had been in our favor and it tipped in favor of the regime. This is a fact which should be recognized.

Genuine revolutionaries are aware that the history of any revolution is always featured by two words: steadfastness and rising. Every revolution should know how to stay put, how to rise, and how to advance.

IRAQI CRUDE

I would like to stop here and ask: Is it a coincidence that the price of Iraqi crude oil went up in the wake of the September massacre and in the wake of the attitude of the Iraqi army in Jordan? Is it a mere coincidence that the Iraq Petroleum Company has now boosted its production by over one third the September level?

Through the peaceful solution, Egypt could recover Sinai, Syria the Golan, while the other Arab states -- with the exception of Libya and the Sudan -- will rid themselves for the first time in 20 years from the grip of the Nasserite Revolution when the latter loses its mass potential once it accepts the Peace Plan.

There is an Israeli peace and an Arab peace. What we are offered is an Israeli peace...

Israel is a state in the experimental stage. For it to move from the experimental stage to that of success, the Jews of the world should become convinced that this is their state. This is why Israel is now eager to cease the fighting at any cost, end the stage of belligerency and earn the recognition which will convince World Jewry that it has moved from the experimental stage to the factual one...

ECONOMIC PROJECT

Israel is not a religious state as it is often claimed. Israel is an economic project of world capitalism. That's why, its main concern is to create facts for the future which will secure its economic development and role in the region.

Industrial plants in Israel are not built to its size but to that of the region...

We are not opposed to (Israeli) withdrawal (from Arab territory occupied in 1967). But we are against recognition (of Israel). We are against giving Israel in peace what it failed to obtain through war.

BUFFER STATE

Imperialism is also trying to lure us with a puppet Palestinian buffer state that would comprise the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But we shall not be deceived by names. Peace with Zionism is impossible but peace with Judaism is possible. When we speak of a democratic state in Palestine, we speak of peace with Judaism. The slogan of a democratic state in Palestine is a slogan of struggle and not of negotiations. It is a slogan we can achieve only after the liquidation of the economic, political, cultural, social and military institutions of zionism in the region.

Moreover, a democratic state in Palestine which would be isolated from the Arab society would also be a treason. We cannot possibly be struggling for a new Israel with a new Arabic name...

With regards to the future in Jordan, I can tell you that the honeymoon has ended in Jordan. We have ahead of us months of hard work and confrontation... People going to Jordan today pass through nine checkpoints... This will make the people there realize the difference between the period when the guns of the revolution were raised and when they were decreased in number.

The regime itself is torn by an internal struggle. King Hussein was able to strike with an American fist but he subsequently brought to power a cabinet which has no U.S. leanings. Should the U.S. trend prevail in the ranks of the regime, we will be up to hot confrontations soon. Both trends, however, are bent on cutting our throat ultimately.

NATIONAL UNITY

Our main achievements since the September events in Jordan have been: 1) Our success in controlling our arms, and 2) our ability to go ahead with national unity.

Some people spread the rumor that we are collecting arms from the people. This is something we will never do because a disarmed people can be defeated in a matter of hours. This is what happened to the people in Indonesia...

We cannot lay down our guns because we would be giving up our lives....

With reference to national unity, it is being achieved in practice and not by decrees ... There is nothing called Fateh's Information Bureau in Amman anymore. If you go to Amman today, only if you ask about the Information Bureau of the Palestinian Revolution will you be led there...

As far as we are concerned, we shall continue our revolution... I don't ask you to believe me. I only hope I was able to convey our point of view.

AT AL-KARAMEH:

Fateh Knowingly Broke Guerilla Rules

A thrilling town of more than 50,000 uprooted Palestinians which was gradually asserting itself as an agricultural beehive and a marketing and export center, al-Karameh lay only four kilometers to the east of the River Jordan and across Jericho, the oldest human settlement in the world.

On November 20, 1967, five months after the June war, al-Karameh was wantonly shelled with artillery and tank fire and bombarded by Israeli jets. The result: 14 killed and 28 injured — all civilians. The dead included a girl of 16, two children under 8 and a man over 65.

Al-Karameh was shelled again on January 8 and 25, and February 9, 11 and 15, 1968, with the number of civilian casualties increasing.

On March 19, 1968, or two days before al-Karameh battle, Fateh issued a statement warning about Israeli troop concentrations along the River Jordan and declaring that Israeli statements blaming one Arab country or the other for commando activity were designed to mislead world public opinion.

Simultaneously Fateh's General Command convened to study its intelligence reports about Israeli troop concentrations particularly in Lydda and Ramleh to strike against the township of al-Karameh with the intent of occupying and holding hills on the East Bank commanding the Jordan Valley. Throughout Wednesday, March 20, 16 members of the command debated the question, "Should the Palestinian guerillas stay put or retreat?"

The command's decision to brave conventional guerilla warfare rules and confront the enemy's advance rather than retreat was taken a few hours before the Israeli offensive in order to achieve the following objectives:

1. Consecration of the idea of steadfastness before the enemy's offensive so as to raise the morale of the Palestinian and Arab masses in the wake of the June setback.

2. Destruction of the enemy's morale by inflicting on his forces the heaviest losses possible.

3. Realization of complete integration between the revolution and the masses and increasing the people's confidence in the fedayeen and their ability to confront and defeat the enemy.

4. Increasing the rapprochement between the fedayeen and the Jordan Army through a common battle.

5. Liquidation of counter-revolutionary forces on the East Bank by discrediting their doubts about commando action and its ability to confront the enemy and protect the masses.

6. Pulling the rug from under the feet of the proponents of the political solution by raising the confidence of the Arab masses in their ability to achieve victories in a popular war led by its commando vanguard.

7. Testing the confidence of the commandos themselves and their ability to move into the phase of limited confrontation in all operations.

The military expectations of Fateh's General Command, which were subsequently substantiated, were that the enemy would:

1. Make a two-pronged pincer thrust against al-Karameh from the south and north of the township.

2. Drop a helicopter force east of al-Karameh to block the anticipated retreat of the commandos.

3. Have the forces advancing from the north, south and east join in combing the whole region of al-Karameh.

Counter-plans were laid down by Fateh's Command and the Palestinian revolutionaries were distributed accordingly.

What happened during the 15 hours of fighting on March 21, 1968, between the invading Israeli force and the Fateh commandos (who were joined a few hours after the start of the battle by valiant men and officers of the Jordanian Army braving orders to intervene as well as contingents from the Popular Liberation Forces) marked an important turning point in the history of Palestinian resistance.

By the first light of dawn, Thursday, March 21, the Israeli armor, infantry and helicopter borne invasion units estimated at between 12,000 and 15,000 troops began to roll into Jordan territory with the intention of crushing Palestinian commandos and crippling their activity by occupying and holding hills on the East Bank commanding the Jordan Valley.

North of the Dead Sea, Centurion tanks and half-track personnel carriers rumbled across the Allenby and Damiya bridges onto the East Bank and attempted to converge on al-Karameh. At the same time, helicopters landed enemy troops east of the camp to cut off any commando retreat into the hills.

A second enemy task force moved across the border south of the Dead Sea.

Enemy artillery laid down a barrage that walked ahead of the invading force while US-supplied jets crisscrossed the skies.

The Palestinian commandos were fully prepared for the onslaught. In al-Karameh, scores stayed on to defend the town while many more pulled back into the surrounding hills.

South of the Dead Sea, the enemy was allowed to advance through the towns of Safi, Feifa and Dahal before being hammered with precise and heavy barrages of persistent fire from the commandos entrenched in the surrounding hills.

The enemy helicopter force dropped east of al-Karameh was engaged by the commandos until their ammunition ran out and they switched to hand-to-hand fighting. The force coming down from Damiya Bridge was halted by rocket and artillery fire or minefields. The second arm of the enemy pincer coming from Allenby Bridge reached the camp.

Though outnumbered and outgunned, the Palestinian commandos in and around al-Karameh put up a fierce hand-to-hand and house-to-house fight, which frustrated the enemy hope of entrapping them.

After less than 10 hours of close range combat, the enemy, who had undergone a traumatic experience on the hands of the Palestinian commandos, started the arduous and costly task of rolling back while being harassed by fierce Palestinian and Jordanian shelling and counter attacks.

It took the enemy force more than five hours to complete its retreat.

Hundreds of houses along the main street of al-Karameh were knocked to rubble by enemy tanks firing at point-blank range as they moved down the road.

But beyond the main street, in the narrow alleyways where thousands of evicted and uprooted Palestinians once lived, there was no damage. In fact, while the Israelis penetrated al-Karameh, they never subdued it.

Even the casualty figures officially confessed by the Israelis themselves — 100 soldiers and officers — showed this was the highest figure ever suffered by the enemy in one day of fighting.

Compared with the population figures of other countries, this Israeli-type of casualty toll corresponded to putting out of action about 8,000 Americans in a single day.

More important still, the heavy losses failed to secure an end to the Palestinian commando activity.

The results of the clash raised Palestinian and Arab morale to an unprecedented level. Crowds turned out in tens of thousands in Amman the following day to attend the funeral of the Palestinian commandos and Jordanian soldiers killed in the clash and later mounted enemy tanks and other armored vehicles which had been captured and brought to the capital for public display.

Foreign press reaction to the battle was equally heartening. Following are some typical reactions by the foreign media:

AN ISRAELI ERROR

It now looks as if the Israelis were guilty of a major miscalculation last Thursday when they sallied across the River Jordan on a one-day war to attack an Arab guerrilla base... Most remarkable of all, they may even have managed to give a boost to Arab morale.

FINANCIAL TIMES
March 25, 1968

THE COST WORRIES ISRAEL

Some painfully uneasy questions are being asked here after publication of the casualty lists of last Thursday's battle against Arab guerrillas in Jordan.

The picture emerging now shows that the Israelis lost nearly 100 soldiers and officers in the fighting (nearly a quarter killed, the rest wounded) without having secured an end to the guerrilla activity...

Questions asked by the Israelis are:-

Do the results of Thursday's battle justify the heavy loss in Israel's limited manpower?

Was it really necessary not to make ample use of Israel's superiority in airpower, and base this week's action mostly on ground forces?

Has sufficient thinking been devoted to seeking some other method of anti-guerrilla strategy?

OBSERVER
March 24, 1968

— ARABS LOOK TO THEIR COMMANDOS

Arab commandos appear to have emerged as the strongest group in the fight against Israel following the raid against Jordan last Thursday.

Those who visited al-Karameh camp, the main target of the Israeli attack, said that it was still swarming with Arab guerrillas.

Arab commandos have now come into the open in Jordan and great significance is attached to King Hussein's statement at his press conference at Amman on Saturday that "We are all 'Fedayeen'" -- meaning commandos.

Arab guerrilla organizations in a series of communiques have claimed how well they fought the Israeli raiders with Fateh, the main guerrilla group, emphasising that the outcome of the fighting "has shattered the myth of Israeli air and technological superiority."

FINANCIAL TIMES
March 25, 1968

ISRAELIS STUNG BY LOSSES

TEL AVIV -- The intransigence of King Hussein's response to the Israeli attack on his country has led to bitter comments here. At the same time there are signs that the Israeli public itself is not all that happy about the operations.

As the number of dead has risen from the original 21 to 23, with three missing, so the sense of shock has grown. This, however, does not mean that there is much doubt about the need for action against Fateh, but merely that the method is being debated. Apart from the fairly heavy casualties, there was the additional blow for the Israelis of seeing captured tanks and other equipment being shown on Jordan television. This can be received in Israel, and is avidly watched on the occupied West Bank.

... It is now being stressed that the attack took place under a number of strategic and political complications -- the Fateh bases were in the middle of the protective pincers of Jordanian infantry brigades and the Israelis had orders not to start a head-on clash with the Arab Army.

Whatever the reason, their forces took a greater blow than they suffered in any comparable action and the Jordanians were able to give their public the biggest show of prizes they have ever won. The reaction of one commentator today seems fairly typical of the general public view.

GUARDIAN
March 25, 1968

WAS THE SACRIFICE WORTH WHILE?

... Very few openly question the policy reflected in last week's military action. Among these, surprisingly, is the economic editor of "Haaretz," Mr. Abraham Schewetzer, who is a close friend of Mr. Dayan.

"The Israeli soldier has again shed his blood and accomplished his duty according to orders," wrote Schweitzer. "But it is doubtful if dissuasion was achieved. The balance between the price the enemy paid and our losses was much worse than during the Six-Day War.

"One reason is that we fought the enemy how and where he expected. By our own hand we dissolved the fog of secrecy, announcing by all the means of communication which we dispose of what we intended to do.

"Thus, the enemy was freely allowed to dispose his reserves and concentrate his fire on the Israeli forces, whose action was limited in time and place.

"A war of the kind we face evidently necessitates a different answer, using forces differently composed and with, foremost, sharper and better thinking in the planning.

JEWISH CHRONICLE
March 29, 1968

CHANGE IN STRATEGY

... A long time ago, lone voices were raised in Israel advocating that Arab terrorist methods should be imitated. This view is now gaining ground in responsible quarters.

The anguished reappraisal now going on is likely soon to result in a clearer formulation of long-term aims, particularly as regards the future of Jordan and the application of more flexible reprisal methods.

Possibilities seen here are that Israel will refrain from using regular land forces in limited actions where the Air Force, artillery or an irregular force could achieve the same purpose, with comparatively minor losses of life and international sympathy.

Meanwhile, informed military commentators here have attributed Israel's high losses in the al-Karameh raid -- 34 dead, three missing and some 70 wounded -- to the rigid advance limitation placed on the area of operations.

... There were two prime lessons of the al-Karameh operation: that land forces should not be

thrown into action with their hands bound by political considerations, the enemy being aware in advance of the nature of the limitations placed on the operation; and that past victories are no guarantee of permanent success, but may create dangerous over-confidence if fed by the enemy's pusillanimity.

JEWISH CHRONICLE
March 29, 1968

RAIDS RESUME

Twenty-four hours after Israeli troops pulled back from the East Bank on Thursday of last week, Arab terrorists (meaning Palestinian commandos) were in action again.

JEWISH CHRONICLE
March 29, 1968

DOMINATING FORCE

... Since these have been among the first aims of the Palestinian resistance organisations, among which the Fateh group has emerged as the dominating force, the outcome of the battle must be considered the opposite of what the Israelis apparently set out to achieve, namely, the crippling of the guerrillas as a serious political or military force.

The rise of Fateh is also a sign that the leadership of the Palestinians may now have begun to change to a new generation of revolutionary nationalist leaders in place of the old 'notables' whose authority collapsed after 1958, and who are as different from them in education, determination and technical abilities as the Zionist activist leaders were in their time from the wealthy assimilationists of the Diaspora or the passive patriarchs of the ghettoes.

The guerrillas now emerging are no longer the paid thugs who often formed the 'fedayeen' of earlier years, but politically-motivated volunteers, often of good education. A relatively high proportion are Christian Arabs. The military arm of Fateh is said to be composed of two electrical engineers, two electronics specialists and two mathematicians...

OBSERVER
March 31, 1968

LESSON OF AL-KARAMEH

... Obviously the Fateh threat, which does not warrant being described as guerrilla warfare -- it is more of a series of hit-and-run raids -- must be met by various means, including reprisal raids, the establishment of an electronic fence and other techniques.

It would appear that there is a good case for the adoption by the Israelis of Fateh methods, even if only to emphasise Israel's contention that peace will reign east of the Jordan only if it exists west of the river...

Brig. Gen. Chaim Herzog,
JEWISH CHRONICLE,
April, 1968

COMMANDOS BACK IN AL-KARAMEH

Did Israel commit a massive strategic blunder in launching a 15-hours invasion of Jordan yesterday?

The evidence suggests so even by Israel's own professed objectives.

Israel claimed it was hitting out centers of commando operations on the Arab side of the Jordan River. The commandos were back in force today in this deserted refugee camp and vowing to carry on the fight with greater intensity.

Their relations with Jordanian forces here appeared, if anything, more friendly than before. In Amman, commandos led the funeral procession of 25 fighters killed in yesterday's battle, firing off their automatic weapons.

In short, nothing appears much changed from before the attack, which Israel said was a punitive measures launched against the commandos and the Jordanian government for failing to stop raids into occupied territory. Nothing, that is, except the camp itself....

... The commandos are back in force -- just as visible as they were a week ago. As before, they carry their Communist arms openly. Their easy working relationship with the few army and police officials here has continued.

"They did not destroy our spirit," said one leader. "As Palestinians we will fight on.

"This is nothing more than what happened 20 years ago at Deir Yassin." Deir Yassin was an Arab village where male inhabitants were massacred by the Stern Gang in the Palestine mandate days. The massacre was in great measure responsible for the flight of Arab Palestinians from their homes...

It is too early to tell with any certainty, but the Israeli attack may turn into a serious strategic blunder. It certainly has not changed the attitude of the commandos nor does it appear to have altered the Jordanian government's position.

It did bring an international outcry against Israel. Furthermore, it has been turned into an Arab victory here.

There is evidence to support this claim. This correspondent saw three burned-out Israeli tanks during a tour of the valley battle-fields plus many more Israeli vehicles knocked out by Jordanian tank and artillery firr from the hills dominating the area. Usually reliable Jordanian sources said there were five more tanks in the Damiyah area to the north, which I did not visit, and they offered to take me there to see them.

Only one dead Israeli soldier was seen. He was the driver of a Patton tank and his charred body was left in the cockpit of the most advanced tank, which was already in the Jordanian foothills when knocked out...

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE
March 23, 1968

FRUSTRATED MALICE

... At al-Karameh, the Israelis demolished either by direct tank fire or by dynamite as many buildings as possible on either side of the highway which runs through the town for a distance of two kilometers. This cannot in any way be construed as a pre-planned act of deterrence. It could be ascribed to frustrated malice on the part of men who had come to conquer and had failed.

Thomas I. Green,
MIDDLE EAST NEWS LETTER
May, 1968

FIRST DEFEAT

"Fateh's greatest victory was in March, 1968, in the battle of al-Karameh when a strong Israeli force which attacked the Jordanian town was repulsed with heavy casualties after a day's fighting. It was the first time for many years that an Israeli military expedition had been seriously challenged, let alone defeated."

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
February 28, 1969

SAFE BASE

The Palestinian Revolution's decision to stay put at al-Karameh enabled the Palestinian Revolution to set-up the safe base it was after in the Aghwar. The base was needed to build a popular army without delay.

While people were busy celebrating the victory of al-Karameh, Fateh was pondering over the new problems confronting the revolution. In two weeks, the ranks of freedom-fighters grew from slightly more than 700 to several thousands most of whom had kaki uniforms but lacked political awareness, military training, arms, medical supplies etc.

After al-Karameh, the revolution embarked on the phase of founding the nucleus of the Palestinian popular army.

Thousands of men were sent for training abroad.

This extensive training of commandos limited operations in occupied Palestine throughout the frustrating 1968 year. By early 1969, however, the Palestinian liberation struggle took new dimensions when it moved from the limited confrontation (or hit and run phase) to that of mobile war (or hit and hold) such as in the battles of al-Himmah, the spa town which was held for several hours on May 2, 1969, She'sha'a, Green Belt and Nahal-Golan.

DOCUMENT:

Congress Ratifies Political Program

Following is the full text of the political program approved by the palestinian National Congress at its session in Cairo in early March:

Since the vanguards of our struggling people undertook at the outset of 1965 to launch the armed revolution against the Zionist political entity maintained by the force of aggression over the land of Palestine, they believed, along with the large Arab masses and all the free people of the world behind them, that armed struggle is the only, indelible way to liberate the whole of the Palestinian land.

Today, the Palestinian Revolution goes through a critical and dangerous stage of its struggle in confronting a ferocious extermination attempt in which what took place in Jordan in the course of the September massacre coincides with what takes place within the occupied territory in terms of oppression and genocide.

This wicked conspiracy is aimed this time at liquidating the Palestinian Revolution and the national movement in Jordan. This time, it was also directed against the revolutionary spirit and the overall Palestinian national cause. Thus, both world imperialism and world Zionism on the one hand and the Zionist settler-state and the counter-revolutionary forces in the Arab World on the other agreed that it was time to launch this ferocious, liquidation assault to circumscribe the dangers involved in escalation of the Palestinian Revolution and its spreading throughout the Arab nation, bulldozing thereby the interests of the enemies -- something which would inevitably destroy their common interests in this part of the world.

Moreover, explosion of the situation in Indochina and the continued progress of the revolution in Laos and Cambodia coupled with added victories scored by the Vietnamese revolution have prompted U.S. circles to look out for all possible means for pacifying the area on the basis of consolidating the military victory achieved by the enemy in 1967.

Thus the Palestinian Revolution was not confronting any more the repression, derangement and deceit on the Imperialist/Zionist front only, but it was also confronting these same challenges all along the front of counter-revolutionary forces in the Arab nation i.e. the forces which took it upon themselves to fight the Palestinian Revolution from within by exhausting it through internal strife and side battles.

In the face of such new and dangerous conditions, the Palestinian Revolution agreed in all its factions and forces to declare its transitional Political Program under the principles listed below -- hoping that this program would answer the pertinent questions of the current phase and pledging to use it as a plan of action for escalating the Revolution, increasing its organized forces and rallying greater Palestinian and Arab mass support.

ON THE PALESTINIAN LEVEL

1 - The Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole representative of the masses of the Palestinian Arab people in all their struggling and political organizations and in all their associations, unions and societies -- regardless of their inclinations and ideas but as long as they are fully committed to the tenants of the Palestinian Charter, the decisions of the legislative and executive organs of the PLO, the political and military programs, and the internal bylaws of the PLO and as long as they are committed also to struggle for the complete liberation of the whole of Palestine and the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland. It is not permissible to exclude any individual or group from PLO membership, except in cases affecting the security of the Revolution or involving a violation of the National Charter principles -- and this upon a decision by the PLO Executive Committee or the Palestinian National Assembly in case it were in session.

2 - While reiterating that the basic and central aim of the Palestinian Revolution is to liberate completely the whole of the Palestinian homeland, the transitional aim is to protect the revolution from its enemies and to escalate it inpreparation for the achievement of its basic aim by mobilizing the Palestinian masses revolutionarily, politically, militarily and psychologically and by making them all participate in the liberation war, in escalation of the armed struggle against the enemy and in the unification of all Palestinian masses within and outside the occupied homeland for that purpose.

THE NATURE OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

1. The Palestinian Revolution is a national liberation movement, as such it conforms in its strategy and tactics with the rest of the national liberation movements, the Socialist countries and the revolutionary and democratic forces in the world in the sense that it is the movement of all masses struggling against foreign occupation, believing in the inevitability of liberation and prepared to join in the struggle for its achievement. This means that the Palestinian people, in all their national classes and factions in all their organizations and groups, and regardless of their ideologies and principles, are called upon to join as one body their armed national revolution.

2. The Palestinian Revolution represents the movement of progress in the Palestinian Arab society on the following bases:

a - On the basis that it struggles against a racist, settler-type of occupation which is part of the dark forces in the world which obstruct the course of history.

b - On the basis that it struggles against world imperialism led by the USA, the protector of Zionist occupation which has alienated the rights and frustrated the hopes of our people.

c - On the basis that it intends to build the Palestinian Arab society where the principles of democracy, peace, justice, freedom and equality would prevail; where all principles and faiths would be respected; where all rights and freedoms would be safeguarded; and where all types of feudal exploitation, and racial and religious discrimination would be done away with.

THE FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The armed struggle undertaken by the revolutionary vanguards of the Palestinian people at the outset of 1965 (meaning the guerrilla war escalating to a comprehensive popular war of liberation) is the principal form of the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Joint action by regular troops and commando forces in the armed struggle is more liable to realize the victorious popular revolution. All other forms of struggle should be parallel to the armed struggle.

THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINE CAUSE

The only solution to the Palestine cause is the liberation of the whole of Palestine through armed struggle. Thus, the liquidation solution and, or any other solution which could encroach on the natural and historical rights of the Palestinian people over the whole of their homeland are rejected. The Palestinian Revolution declares at this point its unequivocal commitment to the following:

a. Relentless struggle against all attempts, efforts, plots and forces which aim at interrupting, obstructing or deviating the revolution from its course and against all liquidation plans regardless of the form they take. This necessitates development of the Palestinian revolution and an increase in its efficiency in all fields.

b. Strong opposition to the proponents of the puppet Palestinian state over part of the Palestinian soil on the ground that efforts to set up such a puppet state are part and parcel of the attempt to liquidate the Palestine cause.

c. Taking all the necessary and determined steps to protect the course of the Palestinian Revolution and the right of the national Palestinian presence to cooperate closely and jointly with the Jordanian national movement and the Arab national movements.

THE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINIAN STATE

The Palestinian armed struggle is neither a racial nor a sectarian struggle against the Jews, That's why the future state in the Palestine liberated from Zionist occupation will be the democratic Palestinian state, where those wishing to live peacefully in it would enjoy equal rights and obligations within the framework of the aspirations of the Arab nation to national liberation and complete unity, with emphasis on the unity of the people on both banks of the River Jordan.

WORK ON THE JORDAN LEVEL

What links Jordan to Palestine are national ties and a national unity moulded by history, culture and language since time immemorial. The creation of a political entity in East Jordan and another in Palestine is not founded on any legitimacy or on any acceptable premise. Rather fails in the realm of the operation of fragmentation used by colonialism to undo the unity of our Arab nation and people in the wake of the First World War.

That this fragmentation did not prevent the masses on the western and eastern banks from feeling that they are the masses of the same people and from remaining united against the imperialist/zionist conspiracy.

The Palestinian Revolution which brandished the slogan of the liberation of Palestine did not intend to differentiate between the eastern bank and the western bank of the River (Jordan). Nor did it believe that the struggle of the Palestinian people could be disassociated from the struggle of the masses in Jordan. Taking into consideration specific requirements at a phase in history, it concentrated on directing all forces toward Palestine in order to focus its cause on the Palestinian, Arab and international levels.

Our concern about the unity of the Palestinian/Jordanian masses and our knowledge of the rule which it could play in escalating the liberation struggle reiterate our faith in the following:

a. This regional unity must be reflected in a united struggle taking the form of a national Jordanian front which would have among its basic tasks the establishment of a national regime in Jordan that would participate in the liberation of Palestine and would support the fighting Palestinian forces with all its means. This in turn is part of the struggle of the Arab nation for liberation and unity.

b. The unity of Palestine and East Jordan is a national unity and we are asked to protect it and strengthen it by foiling all attempts to weaken it or dismantle it.

PROJECT FOR NATIONAL UNITY OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION FORCES

GENERAL PRINCIPLES:

National unity would be based on the following organizational principles:

1. The PLO is the framework grouping all the Palestinian revolutionary forces for the sake of an armed revolution which would liberate the whole of the Palestinian land. This organization has a Charter governing its path, specifying its objectives and organizing its work. It also has a National Assembly and a leadership selected by the National Assembly which serves as the highest executive authority of the PLO as is stipulated in the bylaws. This leadership would undertake to lay down a unified general plan for Palestinian endeavor in all fields. This would be implemented through the PLO institutions grouping all tools of the revolution.

2. All commando organizations, fighting forces, unions, and national leaders shall participate in the national unity o condition that they abide fully by the Palestinian National Charter and the decisions of the national assemblies.

3. The merger of commando organizations having identical ideologies or political thought in one organization is a national necessity. Until this takes place, it is the right of each organization to safeguard its organizational existence provided it disbands all other insitutions and merges them in the PLO. Within both the legislative and the higher executive institutions of the PLO, the principles of democratic centralization, collective leadership, and commitment of the minority to decisions taken by majority vote shall prevail.

4. It remains the right of every organization or group to reconsider its view through the legislative and executive institutions provided they remain committed meanwhile to the decisions taken. Each organization retains the right to criticize within its cadres the decisions taken by the legislative and executive institutions. With regards national action on the Jordanian scene, it shall be governed by the program of the Jordanian national front.

5. The National Assembly shall lay down a transitory political, military, informational and financial strategy binding for everybody.

5. A leadership shall be formed to assume the responsibility of leading the Palestinian struggle in all its aspects and spheres.

6. Absolute adherence to the decisions of the command are a basic condition for the unity of the march. The leadership undertakes to implement its decisions and those of the national assemblies. It shall also handle cases of non-compliance and lack of discipline in the light of what it deems the higher interest of the revolution to be.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The PLO shall have the following organizational structure

1. A National Assembly,
2. A Central Committee
3. A Political Bureau
4. The Institutions, departments and offices,
5. A military leadership for the Palestinian Revolution,
6. The Palestinian National Fund.

1. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

A- The National Assembly shall be formed of 150 members.

B. The National Assembly shall convene once a year, taking into consideration the front-like relationships in national unity. The members shall be selected from among:

a. Representatives of the fighting forces,

b. Representatives of the unions, vocational unions and mass organizations,

c. Intellectuals and experts committed to the revolution,

d. Geographic representation shall be taken into account as much as possible,

And all of this on condition of commitment to the Palestinian National Charter.

C. The life-span of the said National Assembly shall be three years, starting from the date of its first meeting.

D. The Central Committee together with the Speaker of the National Assembly, the army chief and whoever they deem fit, will select the members of the new National Assembly provided that it shall convene at a date not later than June 30, 1971.

2. The Central Committee:

A. The Political Bureau

4. The General Command of the Revolution's forces: The Palestinian Revolution has three principal fighting forces: 1. The regular forces, 2. The commando forces 3. The forces of the popular militia.

The functions of the Command shall be : 1. To lead military action 2. To lay down the necessary military plans for the revolution's forces 3. To escalate military action within the laid down program and plans 4. To reorganize, the forces of the revolution on the basis of unity in organization, training, arming and operation 5. To develop the fighting units and their notes -- tials so as to conform with the nature of the revolutionary

(Continued on p. 16)

THE PALESTINE OF TOMORROW

(Continued from p. 9)

MATZPEN (THE ISRAELI SOCIALIST ORGANISATION):

Matzpen is probably the only organized anti-Zionist Jewish force in Israel. It is a miniscule force of course (probably no more than one hundred members within Israel) but it is a very vociferous one. It is definitely the first hopeful progressive sign to come out of Jewish settlers in Palestine since the establishment of the racist State of Israel.

Matzpen has undergone quite a transformation since its inception. But, most of its brilliant founders have left Palestine; E. Lobel to Paris, M. Machover and A. Orr to London and E. Dror to Boston. There remains few outstanding members in Israel, Hayim Hanegby is probably the best.

Matzpen has been moving from a position of vague negation of Zionism to a proposed bi-national state in Palestine. More recently however, ISRAC and ISRACA, the party's organs in England and the United States have been moving towards a "Socialist Federation of the Middle East," with the Jews a recognized national minority like the Kurds. The new shift asserts the need for a global Arab solution, not a regional Palestinian solution. But, spokesmen for Matzpen have been insisting that this new position does not in any way contradict the right of the Palestinians to continue their liberation struggle without waiting for a global socialist transformation to take place in the area.

Matzpen was probably instrumental in encouraging high school students' strikes, letter-writing campaigns (to Mrs. Meir) and the emergence of radical anti-Zionist underground papers written by these students.

Matzpen's transformation did not take a unique road, however. Matzpen members participated in the Palestine-Israel Committee in Paris organized by Mony Al Kaim and the Zionist French journalist Clara Halter.

They still are too fragile in Israel to adopt revolutionary struggle or even to go underground. Israeli military censorship has banned total issues of the Hebrew Matzpen on occasion, and they refused to grant the group a license to publish an Arabic version of their paper. But the party still maintains its links with Israeli legitimacy.

THE REACTION OF JEWS ABROAD:

It is generally true that Israel's victorious aggression in 1967 has increased the identification and loyalty of World Jewry to the Zionist state. Zionist American Jews are usually accused of being far more radical anti-Arabs than Israeli Jews. But, the emergence of the Palestinian Revolution and the ideal of the unity democratic state achieved through a revolutionary liberation struggle could not but fire the imagination of young neo-leftist, radical Jews in Europe and America. To them, Israel is "established" as imperialist base, a white, supremacist ghetto. While they could more easily identify with the Palestinians and their just struggle.

Ania Francos, Marcel Liebman, Alec Somerhausen, Cohn Bendit and many more in Europe and America identified with the Palestinians, sympathized with them, came to see them and participate in their struggle, demonstrated in the streets for their cause, and wrote books, articles and poems about their tragic plight and their liberation fight.

The role played by these progressive supporters transcended that of a demonstrator or writer. Deep and penetrating dialogues between them and the Palestinians in their camps, bases and offices helped both overcome their complexes and deep-seated worries and anxieties. They helped the Arab Palestinian see the Jew as a friend and supporter, as a human being, as a victim of long years of discrimination and oppression not as monster, superman, pigmy or oppressor. Through them, the Palestinian appreciated, for the first time, the real human difference between a Jew and a Zionist -- it seized to be a Cliche'.

To these Jews, meeting the Palestinians led to a return to sanity, a cure from the moral schizophrenia Zionism imposed on the Jews vis-a-vis the Palestinians, "what was good for the Jews was not good for the Palestinians" they could see the Palestinians, share their struggle, and espouse their just cause without being Jew-killers and masochistic self-loathing Anti-Israelis furiously called several Zionist European and American students who attended World Union of Jewish Students in Arad, Israel, last October and voted a resolution calling for recognition of the rights of the Arab Palestinians as an inherent part of Zionist ideology, as contradictory as that may seem.

A lot remains to be done in this regard. The Palestinians resistance must address the Jews and create among them the friends Algeria had among metropolitan Frenchmen. This in itself is one of the instrumental factors in achieving the unitary state and in safeguarding it.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE AND THE PALESTINIAN CLIENT-STATE:

And now as we come to our concluding remarks, an assessment is called for. What is on this vision of the Palestine-of-Tomorrow stand today? Is it advancing or lagging since the Has there been a net gain in the last two years?

Our answer cannot be precise and definitive, but we must try to make such an assessment:

(1) The Palestinian Resistance Movement faced many setbacks reverses in 1970. On one hand it suffered internally from lack of unity and cohesiveness and loss of effectiveness. Its growth and development seemed to be at least temporarily stunted by internal feuds, loss of initiative and confusion. On the other hand, its enemies were getting stronger and more organized. The original surprise was wearing off and American and Zionist imperialism were adapting themselves to the new situation, both militarily and politically.

(2) Following the Vietnamese experience, America was determined to try its Vietnamization strategy in the Middle East. In this case it is Jordanization of the Palestinian conflict. American aid goes to the Jordanian army to fight the Palestinians, so that the struggle becomes intra-Arab, releasing thus Israel and paving the way towards a political settlement. This strategy culminated in the September massacre of the Palestinians in Jordan and its tragic aftermath.

(3) A strong alternative to the Democratic State is offered and trumped up: that of the separate Palestinian state on parts of the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians are to be recognized as a people with rights of self-determination so long that this maintains Israel as it is, plus some territory needed for security. Trade will flow between the two countries, and between them and the rest of the Arab World. Normalization will take place, and eventually over a long period of time natural evolution could bring the two countries together into a future unitary state. This new approach is being sold everywhere -- to the Palestinians, the Arabs in general and to the world at large -- if not on the basis of desirability and credibility then on the grounds of feasibility and political necessity.

(4) On the other hand, in favor of the idea of the democratic state are the following factors: Growing international recognition of the Palestinians and of their national rights culminating in the United Nations General Assembly resolutions, the heroism and persistence of the Palestinians in Jordan despite the brutal assaults; the tenacity and resistance of the people of Gaza; the increasing evidence of Israeli fascism in Gaza and unwillingness to withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967; the economic situation on the West Bank; and finally the acceptance of the Palestinian resistance among world youth, all are factors contributing to greater success and acceptability of the ideal.

In the final analysis then, the alternative offered to the idea of the democratic state is the "Palestinostan" to be created as a result of the political settlement.

Such an alternative is being sold on the following merits:

(1) FEASIBILITY:

The Democratic State idea is based on liberation i.e. a defeat of Zionist imperialism and its backers. It is contended that such a defeat is not possible because Israel is very strong and advanced, that it is wholly backed by the most powerful imperialist country in the world, that it is recognized and supported by the whole world and that it receives the unlimited support of world Jewry. In the same time, it is contended that the Arab countries are weak and cannot ever become strong enough as demonstrated by their continued defeats, that the Palestinian Resistance itself is weak and incapable and is being crushed, that the Palestinian and Arab peoples are not willing to take the burden of continued fighting, that the Arab governments will cooperate readily in crushing the Palestinian and that a continuation of the liberation fight will only wreck the already controversial date Israel's hold over the occupied territory.

(2) DESIRABILITY:

It is stated that the Democratic State idea is not desired by the Israeli and their backers, that continuation of the fight will harden Israeli attitudes, will increase Israel's resolve and determination, will further alienate the Jews from the Arabs and that if the state is achieved after liberation, it will not work because the two communities will not be able to exist after a long struggle, that there will be no guarantees for the proper functioning of the State and against the recurrence of apartheid, and that the Jewish community will eventually rule not only Palestine, but the rest of the Arab World through the new State because of the superiority of the Jews over the Arabs.

As for feasibility, the assumption that the Arabs will not (will never) be able to learn and improve is rather a racist one, which can be disproved by the Jewish case itself. The Jews were never viewed nor did they view themselves as professional soldiers or conquerors especially in modern times. Besides, balance of power arguments are invariably static and take the present ratios, i.e. what seems feasible now. Revolutions are based on the dynamic concept that one can detonate fantastic popular forces through the struggle, forces that can be mobilized, organized, motivated and armed, making continuous changes in the balance of powers as the struggle goes on. The more one gives the more one will be capable of giving; and the less one gives, the less one will be able to solicit. The twenty years of Arab disarray, status quoism and defeat as ample proof. In Vietnam, America uses all its electronic might and the most horrible air armada ever assembled and yet, the heroic Vietnamese has proven with three thousand shotdown planes that popular revolutionary struggle through a people's war can beat and defeat the strongest army in the world. A people's war is superior for the oppressed people to the electronic war.

Is the offered "Palestinostan", at least minimally acceptable?

It means continuation of racist settler-colonialism in Palestine, of the heart of the Arab World. It means the continuation of imperialist domination with all the racist overtones.

What is the shape of the Palestinian Society promised by Israel?

We actually have two models; not hypothetical, but real ones to consider:

(1) The Arabs in Israel.
(2) The Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza.

Any solution short of liberation and the creation of the Democratic State does not and cannot promise the Palestinians, and eventually the Arabs of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, at least, and within a relatively short-time, more than what Israel has actually offered Palestinians under its subjugation for twenty three years and for four years.

THE ARABS IN ISRAEL:

The racist domination, second-class citizenship, administrative detention, cultural assimilation, economic exploitation are all clear evidence of what lies ahead for the Arabs under Zionism.

THE NEWLY-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES:

What is probably more relevant is what happens in the newly-occupied territories. Let us not talk about Gaza because there the fascist repression, administrative detention, environmental punishment and continued oppression are so obvious.

What merits our attention is the West Bank. Here Israel is bragging about co-existence, economic miracles and peace.

What is really the nature of the economic relationships created by Israel on the heart of the promised "Palestinostan"? Let us look briefly at the data published by the Central Bank of Israel appearing in its annual report and republished in the Israel Economist, September/October, 1970, issue as well as the New Middle East of November, 1970.

The Israeli economic policy in the West Bank is declared to be based on two cornerstones: -

(1) The policy of open-bridges with the Arab World.

(2) The policy of reorientation of the economy towards integration with Israel.

The following are the manifestations of such a plan:

(1) Whereas 16,000 Arabs were allowed to cross the bridges into the West Bank in 1968, 50,000 workers were allowed to do so in 1970. On the average, 1000 persons and 100 trucks cross the bridges daily. As a result of the continued relationship 113 million Israeli pounds were officially transferred by these Arabs and their relatives to the occupied territories in 1970 alone. Besides, a surplus in the balance of payments of the occupied territories with East Jordan and the Arab countries amounting to 44 million L.P. together, these 157 millions, plus Jordanian government salaries paid in the West Bank, provide for the deficit in the balance of payments of the West Bank with Israel amounting to 190 millions in 1970 alone. This is the result of exports to Israel of 46 millions and imports from Israel of 236 millions.

The policy of open-bridges is utilized then to use Arab funds to finance purchases from Israel and continue the military economic status of the occupied territories.

(2) 2/3 of the trade of the occupied territories is now to Israel and 80% of their imports come from Israel, which is a shown debilitating economic dependence on Israel.

(3) A total transformation of the agriculture of the West Bank has been achieved, turning it from grains and fruits, for which it is adopted, to industrial crops like cotton, beet root, tobacco, and sesame which have a very low yield and require heavy labor -- intensiveness but are needed badly by Israeli industries. Total dependence on Israel feedstock, fertilizers, equipments, seeds and irrigation have made these crops at the total mercy of the Israelis.

(4) Service industry is being created in the West Bank to serve the Israeli economy. Two hundred garages for car maintenance have trebled their employment in one year. Sub-contracting for many industries which are on the average 6 pounds less than the Israeli minimum daily wage. This difference is kicked back by the Histadrut to the Israeli military governor of the occupied territories to defray his costs. Wages paid by Israelis for work done in the West Bank itself pays an average wage of 7 pounds only. In Gaza 5.7 pounds are paid daily.

Should one elaborate any more? Does this bring memories of South African Bantustanis? Is not this the model of the Palestinostan? and Jordanostan, Syriostan and Lebanostan? Could one achieve co-existence between an imperialist and racist settler-state organically linked with world imperialism and a flock of Bantustans? Do you accept the co-existence model of Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa? Is it possible to create a democratic state out of Malawi and racist Rhodesia?

Military Operations:

COMMANDOS DIRECT SEVERE BLOWS TO ENEMY INDUSTRIAL PLANTS AND SETTLEMENTS

Despite repeated stabs in the back, Palestinian revolutionaries were able in March to direct a number of successful blows to enemy settlements and industrial plants.

In early March, as many as six factories caught fire when they were torn by Palestinian commando blasts in the industrial sector of Tel Aviv.

Earlier in February, Israel's tallest building(the Shalom Tower) housing shops, offices and a hotel was also damaged in Tel Aviv in a fire started by commando incendiary bombs on the second floor.

Following is a rundown of the major operations in occupied territory during the first three weeks of March:

MARCH 19: Palestinian revolutionaries damage defense fortifications set up by enemy in Jordan Valley. In occupied Nablus, a hand grenade is hurled on Israeli military patrol vehicle, damaging the vehicle and killling and/or wounding its occupants.

MARCH 18: Commandos rocket enemy settlements in Golan Heights.

MARCH 16: Commandos in Gaza attack railrod and military vehicles. Palestinian revolutionaries in South Lebanon rebuff an invading Israeli force. Eleven enemy casualties are evacuated on the spot. Meanwhile, five-hour clash erupts in Upper Galilee, where a convoy of 12 enemy vehicles comes under heavy fire.

MARCH 14: Three explosions go off in occupied Jerusalem, including one at the police station in the center of town and another at the Roxy theater in Ben Yehuda street. Enemy observation tower in northernmost settlement of Metulla is attacked.

MARCH 13: Commandos blast bridge on Beersheba-Eilat road in the Negev.

MARCH 6: Dynamite charge damages canning factory in industrial sector of Tel Aviv. Meanwhile, an Israeli woman soldeir and three servicemen are injured in a daylight attack on an enemy police post in Arish. An Israeli driver is also wounded when his lorry hit a mine in the area.

MARCH 7: Katyusha rockets fired by commandos hit Tirat-Zvi settlement in southern Jordan Valley. Enemy vehicle hits mine in Khan Yunes.

MARCH 8: Palestinian revolutionaries set fire to six enemy industrial plants near Tel Aviv. The six-hour blaze involves two soap factories as well as a carton, canned food, biscuits and cigarette box factories. Meanwhile, three settlements (two in the Golan and one in the Jordan Valley) are rocketed by the Palestinian commandos.

MARCH 5: Palestinian fighter hurls hand grenade on military car in Rafah market place killing and wounding its occupants.

MARCH 3: Palestinian commandos kill a famed Israeli intelligence officer in the heart of Tel Aviv. Haim Abli of the Israeli Army Intelligence had a long record with Palestinian fighters in Israeli prisons

POLITICAL PROGRAM

(Continued from p. 14)

struggle in every phase 6, To lay down one budget for these forces which shall be approved by the National Assembly. 7, To issue military communiques 8, To appoint the political leadership of the general command of the revolution's forces 9, These forces shall have a commander in chief and a chief of staff who shall be appointed by the political leadership.

5, The National Fund:

The Palestinian National Fund shall be the fund of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian Revolution, The Palestinian Revolution's finances shall be unified in both income and expenditures, The financial bylaws shall be amended to conform with the revolutionary nature of the struggle, Expenses of the fighters of the various organizations shall be borne by the Unified Popular Fund-Raising. The deficit shall be borne by the National Fund.

6, The Institutions departments and offices:

In order to fulfill its functions and objectives, the Political Bureau shall set up the following institutions and departments: 1, The Political and Information departments 2, The Secretariat and Administration 3, The Military Department 4, The Organization and Mobilization Department 5, The Regional (local) Committees 7, The PLO leadership, in order to fulfill its functions and objectives, shall set up all other necessary institutions and departments, The prerogatives, specialities and scope of work of these institutions and departments shall be spelled out in internal house rules.

FATEH is published by the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh. Contributions from readers to help cover at least air mail postage are accepted (Average $10).

FATEH
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